The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

29 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 1
No. 6

OCTOBER
1912

Feminine Versus Feminist

Defeat of Suffrage in Ohio

Why Men Oppose Woman Suffrage

Suffrage and Non-Suffrage State Laws Compared

Paint Has Worn Off Colorado's Toy

Subscription, $1.00 a Year

Single Copies, 10 cents

Entered as second-class matter May 1, 1912, at the postoffice at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879

CONGRESS

National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

29 West 39th Street, New York City

President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, New York.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Henry P. Kidder, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Horace Brock, Philadelphia, Pa.

Secretary, Mrs. Morgan G. Bulkeley, Hartford, Conn.

Treasurer, Mrs. Robert Garrett, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Miss Mary S. Ames, Boston, Mass.
Mrs. William A. Putnam, New York.
Mrs. C. F. Corbin, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. J. F. Bailey, Portland, Oregon.
Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale, R. I.
Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, Hartford, Conn.
Mrs. Frank Goodwin, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Herman M. Hubbard, Columbus, O.
Miss Anna Dayton, Trenton, N. J.
Miss Jane U. Rutherford, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Edson J. Hill, New Hampshire.

State Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage

CONNECTICUT

President, Mrs. Daniel A. Markham.

Vice-Presidents, Miss Elizabeth Burnell, Mrs. Charles C. Beach, Miss Martha J. Wilkinson.

Treasurer, Mrs. Albert S. Cook.

Secretary, Mrs. John L. Bunce, 45 Sumner Street, Hartford.

ILLINOIS

President, Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. R. J. Oglesby, Mrs. James M. Walker, Mrs. T. B. Blackstone.

Treasurer, Miss J. C. Fairfield, Dearborn Avenue, Chicago.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. George W. Kretzinger.

IOWA COMMITTEE

President, Mrs. Martin Flynn.

Secretary, Mrs. Simon Casady, 715 Prospect Road, Des Moines.

MAINE COMMITTEE

Secretary, Mrs. Sidney W. Thaxter, Portland; Mrs. Charles S. Ogden, Mrs. James P. Baxter, Mrs. Clarence H. Corning, Mrs. F. A. Quimby, Miss Louisa Spring, Miss Catherine P. Talbot, Miss Hannah L. Talbot, Miss Mary King Longfellow, Miss Elinor S. Moody, Miss Marion Richmond Weeks, Mrs. John M. Glidden, Newcastle; Mrs. P. M. Blake, Bangor; Mrs. F. C. Robinson, Brunswick.

MARYLAND

President, Mrs. Robert Garrett.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Francis T. Redwood, Mrs. John Haslup Adams, Mrs. Arthur B. Kinsolving, Miss Catharine M. Selfe.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Katherine F. Davis.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Claude Hall.

Treasurer, Mrs. Charles B. Penrose.

MASSACHUSETTS

President, Miss Mary S. Ames.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. J. Randolph Coolidge, Miss Anna L. Dawes, Mrs. Charles E. Guild, Mrs. Charles D. Homans, Miss Agnes Irwin, Mrs. Henry M. Whitney.

Treasurer, Mrs. James M. Codman.

Recording Secretary, Miss Elizabeth Johnson.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Charles P. Strong, Room 615 Kensington Building, Boyleston Street, Boston.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ASSOCIATION

President, Mrs. Edson J. Hill, Concord.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Thomas C. Bethume, Concord; Mrs. Will B. Howe, Concord; Mrs. Barrett Wendell, Portsmouth; Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Exeter; Mrs. John R. Spring, Nashua.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Otis G. Hammond, Concord.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Grace Morrill, Concord.

Treasurer, Miss Carry R. Todd.

NEW JERSEY

President, Miss Anna Dayton.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Grover Cleveland, Princeton; Mrs. Thomas Craven, Salem.

Secretary, Miss Fanny Dickinson.

Treasurer, Mrs. Charles Minnegorode, 192 West State Street, Trenton.

NEW YORK STATE

President, Mrs. William A. Putnam.

First Vice-President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.

Vice-President, Miss Eleanor G. Hewitt, Mrs. Fritz Achelis, Mrs. George Douglas Miller, Mrs. William P. Northrup.

Honorary Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Elihu Root, Mrs. Richard Watson Gilder, Mrs. Francis M. Scott.

Secretary, Mrs. M. E. Loomis, 29 West 39th St.

Treasurer, Mrs. Charlton T. Lewis.

OHIO

President, Mrs. Hermon M. Hubbard.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Joseph Crane, Dayton; Mrs. W. W. Clippinger, Madisonville; Mrs. John M. Gundry, Cleveland; Mrs. Helen M. Lucas, Marietta; Mrs. Frank Ray, Granville; Mrs. H. E. Talbott, Dayton.

OREGON

President, Mrs. Francis J. Bailey, Bowers Hotel, Portland.

Vice-Presidents, Miss Failing, Mrs. R. W. Wilbur.

Treasurer, Mrs. Wallace McCamant.

Secretary, Miss Eleanor E. Gile.

PENNSYLVANIA

President, Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Frank Samuel, Mrs. William W. Birdsall, Miss Sophy D. Irwin, Mrs. James Large, Mrs. William L. McLean, Miss Mary Newhall.

Treasurer, Miss Elsie Balch.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Brinton Coxe, 1515 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Charles Bingham Penrose.

RHODE ISLAND

President, Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale.

Treasurer, Mrs. Elisha Howard.

Secretary, Mrs. Albert Harkness.

VIRGINIA

President, Miss Jane M. Rutherford.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Thomas Cary Johnson, Mrs. Charles Whitlock, Miss Annie Rose Walker, Mrs. Arthur Wilmer.

Secretary, Mrs. Charles M. Ferrell, 1616 Grove Avenue, Richmond.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

President, Mrs. Frank Goodwin.

Honorary Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Elihu Root, Miss Jane Riggs, Miss Mollie Elliot Seawell, Mrs. George Wickersham, Miss Grace Denio Litchfield.

Treasurer, Miss McMullen.

Secretary, Mrs. Kingsbury Waterman, 1311 New Hampshire Avenue.

WISCONSIN

Madison Branch

President, Mrs. Frank W. Hoyt.

Treasurer, Mrs. Joseph W. Hobbins.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Genevieve Mills, 222 Monona Avenue, Madison.

Two Sides of Liquor Question As Told by Wisconsin Suffragists

WOMEN MAY DRINK SAYS SUFFRAGETTE

Believes That When Husband and Wife Drink at Home They Realize Fullest Joy.

[*From Milwaukee Sentinel, Sept.* 13, 1912.]

May be it's funny, but nevertheless it's true, say the suffragettes who are working away at the State Fair, that men who inquire into the possibilities of such eventuation, invariably, first ask:

"What will the women do with the liquor question if they should get a vote?"

"What would they do?" comes the echoing answer in every quarter save where is found some woman wholly intolerant. "What would they do? Why leave it alone. They'd be more likely to insist on the strict enforcement of the law, but the idea that the women would seek to drive the liquor traffic out of existence is not well founded." One particular lady, who shrank from publicity in discussion of the subject, answered:

"I wonder do men stop to think of the number of women who drink? I do not mean drink to excess—just drink moderately and at home as their husbands do and as they teach their children to do? It's so, there are those women, and while I'm not doing any personal advertising I don't mind saying, in private, that I am one of them and glad of it.

"There's recreation in drink, strange as that may seem to the uninitiated. Most men know and like it. No woman can do better than tolerate the habit in her husband, unless she join him in the indulgence. Join him at home in temperate use of liquor and genuine happiness results. There is pleasure for both and if the husband does love his wife as the vast majority of husbands do, she is going to keep him home by being what men outside term the 'good fellow.' Harm there is in excess, of course, but excess cannot well be in any well regulated household."

"Women drive the liquor business out?" repeated Miss Mary E. Chadwick, superintendent of the Woman's Work department, Thursday, repeating the question asked. "Why, no, not at all," and her answer was echoed by several womanly women who were standing by and heard the query and the result.

"There will be a great diversity of opinion among women as there is among men," said Miss Gwendolen B. Willis of Milwaukee-Downer college, who was in charge of the suffragette headquarters Thursday afternoon. "There is one point that may be indicative and that is that no state where women vote has decided for prohibition while states in which they do not have declared for that policy.

"It is true that there are many women who themselves use liquor in moderate form. There are many who are not addicted to the use, who are total abstainers and many of these oppose prohibition."

TEMPERANCE UNION TO GET INTO FIGHT

W. C. T. U. of Wisconsin Will Urge Votes for Women in Badger State.

[*From Daily News, Kenosha, Wis.*]

Officers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are planning to launch a state wide campaign for woman suffrage. In this campaign the white ribboners will work entirely independent of any suffrage organization. It will be a "hot and swift" campaign according to Mrs. W. A. Lawson, state president of the union, who will in January give the word to her army of lieutenants throughout the state to begin work.

The several suffrage organizations are not in enthusiastic accord with this proposed scheme. Some of the prominent suffrage advocates in this state have even gone so far as to suggest, as delicately as possible, that the white ribboners maintain a discreet silence on the suffrage question. Not that they are afraid of the W. C. T. U. women stealing the thunder of the mere suffragists. Zeal for the cause would preclude anything so petty as that. But it seems the suffragists are afraid that the activity of the white ribboners in the plea for political equality will tend to antagonize those whose business interests would be endangered by a prohibition vote.

"We have always declared for political equality, and we always shall," said Mrs. Lawson to-day. "The W. C. T. U. is not spasmodic in its work. Our principles are clearly defined, and we work year after year with a specific object in view. It has not always seemed timely or good policy to feature our suffrage enthusiasm. But personally I never make a public speech in which I do not make a plea for suffrage.

"Had it not been for the constructive campaigning the W. C. T. U. has exercised for suffrage, the movement would never have reached the place it now occupies in public opinion in this state.

"These suffrage organizations are only spasmodic movements. Their own histories prove that. But when I was approached and asked to keep still on the suffrage question I told them there is no danger, and never will be, that the W. C. T. U. will silence its plea for woman suffrage.

"We are pledged adversaries of the white slave traffic and friends of prohibition, political equality and of justice. You cannot separate these things.

"The W. C. T. U. has the advantage of having our workers already in the field. Our organization comprises many wheels within wheels. We now have two hundred and fifty organizations located throughout the state. Each of these women knows her own field and knows it well. When the time comes to set off the suffrage boom the women will be prepared to do work that will have telling results."

THE "COCKTAIL FLAG"

Dispatch to the New York World.

St. Paul, Sept. 3.—Standing in an automobile to-day, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, President of the Consumers' League of New York, made the first suffrage stump speech on record in Minnesota at the State Fair Grounds. Mrs. Nathan exhibited the flags of nearly a score of countries in which women vote, and said:

"But the American flag—what does it represent in foreign countries? When we see it floating over a European hotel it only means that American cocktails are sold there. When I am abroad and see the Stars and Stripes waving over a hotel I immediately look up the register to see if some prominent American is staying there, but I always find that inevitable Manhattan or Martini."

In uttering these patriotic sentiments, Mrs. Nathan does not speak for the Consumers' League of New York, which is a non-partisan organization, but expresses merely the expression of an individual consumer.

The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

29 West 39th Street, New York City

President, MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE - - - New York
Secretary, MRS. MORGAN G. BULKELEY - Hartford, Conn.
Treasurer, MRS. ROBERT GARRETT Roland Park, Baltimore

VOL. 1 OCTOBER, 1912 No. 6

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers

SHORT CUT OF SUFFRAGISTS

THE secretaries of various organizations that are working in civic and philanthropic lines are beginning to receive again resignations from women interested in Suffrage, who repeat the statement made by those who have resigned in the past, that they want to devote all the time and money they have to spare to the cause of Woman Suffrage. This seems to them the first step toward accomplishing "anything real."

Considering the advancement that has been made by women along these lines of work in the last two years, since these resignations began to come in, and instructions were sent out from the National Woman Suffrage Association that women should resign, it seems extraordinary that so many should be blind to the fact that real things are being accomplished without Woman Suffrage, as fast as public opinion can be formed, and sane, practical, common sense steps taken towards their accomplishment. As we have remarked before, if this goes on to a much greater extent, it will be the men and the Antis who will be doing the real things towards the betterment of conditions of women and children. The Suffragists seem to think that Suffrage is a short cut to the accomplishment of results. They ignore the fact that nothing good is accomplished in this world without long, patient, arduous work. There is no short cut to "anything real."

MRS. McCULLOCH'S IDEA OF MAJORITIES

NOT daunted by two defeats for woman suffrage in Chicago within five months, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch intends to go on fighting. At the April primaries the woman suffrage proposition met with an adverse majority of about 2 to 1. On September 3 the petition to the Illinois Legislature to submit the question to the voters in November reached the time limit with 30,000 less names than the law requires, though one cent was offered for every signature. Mrs. McCulloch's happy thought now is to make a plea to the Legislature on the ground that "many people have shown their approval of the suffrage movement, and that in fact the majority of citizens are in favor of it." The issue of veracity plainly arises between Mrs. McCulloch and the majority—or at least the April majority.

IN OHIO

A NOVEL feature was introduced in the suffrage parade at Columbus, and has received some comment from the press of Ohio. Four members of an Afro-American suffrage organization occupied an open carriage, driven by a white man. They were tastefully dressed in white. wore sashes with "Votes for Women" printed on them, and were decorated with the usual suffrage rosettes and ribbons. At the sides of the carriage were stretched strips of cloth bearing these words:

"White men freed us in 1861. We propose to free white women in 1912. Vote for suffrage."

They handed out suffrage literature, and were especially earnest in their pleas to spectators to vote for woman suffrage.

The Central Labor Union of the State of Ohio issued a card which contained under the heading, "Constitutional amendments labor particularly advocates," ten amendments. Amendment 23 was omitted. That union labor did not intend to vote for woman suffrage was known to suffragists before voting day. Pressure in the shape of protests from women's labor organizations throughout the country, sent by telegraph on the day before votes were cast, was brought to bear on labor unions in Cincinnati and Dayton, but the men declined to endorse the woman suffrage amendment.

WHO KNOWS?

WHAT is a suffragette? The question is that of "E. P. Grams," who advertises in New York street cars. He offers $10 each for the best ten answers. His money is safe. The question cannot be answered.

FEMININE vs. FEMINIST

It is going to be a fighting year, this 1912. And one of the biggest fights ahead of us is this of Anti-Suffrage *versus* Suffrage. Amid all the buckling on of armor for the fray which is now going on, it is well to remind ourselves sometimes what the fight is really about, what is actually involved in this battle of the vote, what is the vital principle at stake. So many side issues have been raised in this protracted campaign, we are by now in danger of losing sight of the main reason why Feminine again opposes Feminist on this particular battlefield.

I do not think any one will deny that the profoundly antagonistic aims cherished in the two opposed camps are these: the desire to cultivate and preserve woman's independent identity and personality on the part of the Anti, *versus* the desire to extinguish and subjugate the same by merging it in the man's on the part of the Suffragist. The Anti, or Feminine forces, are working to preserve to women a line of their own, the Suffragist or Feminist to reduce women to a surrender of it by forcing them to adopt that of the man. The Antis purpose to keep the balance even in human affairs by cultivating in the two halves of the human race all that makes the sexes complementary to each other, the Suffragists to send the scales down all on one side, and that the man's, by urging women to aim at the same tasks and qualities as men. It is not a very proud position for women. But we have grown used to hearing Suffragists proclaim that to prove herself able to do a man's work and to possess a man's qualities is the highest ambition a woman can set before herself. The Feminists have so accustomed us to hear that nothing can cover a woman with glory like the winning of permission to do what a man does, that we are no longer shocked at what is humiliating in this attitude.

But the indignity of this position is not what really matters. The serious thing, of course, is the abdication of woman's own kingdom that is its inevitable consequence. Examine whatever suffragist writing or speaking you will, turn it this way, turn it that, it all comes back to this: execration of the world-old idea of woman's sphere. The very words call forth shrieks of contempt from a Suffragist. Infinite harm has already been done by this cheap contempt for what must yet persist and endure when the fashion that makes it smart to deride it will have gone the way of fashions. But just as the sex can be degraded for a time by passing fashions in dress, as it has been by certain recent ones which have coincided with the fashionableness

of suffragism in the fashionable classes, so it can be by these fashions of phrase that have temporarily lowered the ideals of the sex to a standard from which it is going to be hard and uphill work to raise them again.

The result of living her life as it has hitherto been lived by woman is that women are the superiors of men in the possession of certain qualities and aptitudes. The infinite diversity, manual and mental, of her housekeeping task, has developed in woman valuable characteristics and capacities which the more one-sided tasks assigned to man are apt to blunt. Suffragists proclaim women's possession of this superiority, and . . . proclaim their desire to abolish it by abolishing the conditions that produced it. They would impose on women those very same masculine tasks which have produced inferiority in men! And this they do in the name of promoting the good of the sex, of the race, in the name of progress!

Anti-Suffragists believe in progress, in the Increasing Purpose. They believe that under all the scum and froth that floats on the surface of life, the flow is steady and deep, to greater, to higher things than we have ever yet reached. The danger just now is lest the real be despised for a sham, lest the scum and froth which have lately been rising so rank and strong, obscure for our days the abiding thing, the living stream that is quietly flowing over the bed-rock, out of sight.

With the catchiness of common music-hall refrains, jingling Suffragist sentences have for the moment caught the popular ear, and assail us wherever we go. For this year, for the next, they are in possession, and then . . .? But a day of them is too long for those who deeply care for women's welfare. We cannot afford to wait till they have brought upon themselves their own extinction, either, for the Suffragists show how well they know what will be their fate if there is delay, and the issue is to be forced at once before time can do its work. The Antis are challenged to show that it is not the catchy common music-hall refrains that must endure, but the ancient rhythm of life that beats in the old folk-songs, in those time-worn beliefs now held only fit for cheap jest and jeer.

The best gold has its alloy. Our age of real advance has yet one side to it which is acknowledged to be sinister and threatening, and to which the most spirited resistance must be opposed if we are to escape being overwhelmed by what is mechanical and meretricious in our art and in our life. With all that is, literally and metaphorically, machine-made, vulgar, coarse of fibre, in this century, the Suffragist ideal has shown itself identified. For much it has been directly responsible. It was a Suffragist woman, a Labor League president, who on January 26, 1909, complained that "the wife and mother are degraded to the washer of pots and pans, serving husbands, fathers and sons." It is the Suffragists whose ideal is the kitchenless house fed from a mechanical institutional centre. The main proportion of Suffragist writing and speaking is on this pots and pans pattern, simply a denunciation of housekeeping as degrading. It is the Suffragists who teach women to revolt against that daily task of tending child and house whose neglect has produced the dire results we now so ruefully contemplate in the nation's lowered physique. It is the Suffragist theory that the woman's sphere in life should be the same as the man's that has condemned her to share with him what is so hideous a misfit in the miscalled education of our industrial classes, whose girls are all taught as if destined for literary rather than manual occupations, as if the National funds were collected to compel the training of a surplus of cheap short-hand typists for the office, and to compel a lack of expert housewives in the home. It is the Suffragists who are destroying the wholesome personal element in female life, by their doctrine of degradation in the washing of pots and pans for husband, father and son, while they demand the vote, and opportunity to serve the State, the husbands, fathers, and sons of other people, with what? What service? An abstract service of legislation and administration, they reply: in fact all that barren "social service" which can be performed without the sweating of the brow, the soiling of a finger! Is it not clear how this hideous feminism is sapping our vitality as a nation? Is it too much to say that it is at the root of half the unhealth and disease of which to-day's unrest is symptomatic?

What is the great cause of the decline of the artistic sense in these later times? Is it not the vulgarizing fear of manual labor as menial, contemptible? What is it that gives the distinction, spirit, life, value to earlier work? This same manual labor whereby the impress of a human mind is seen in the work of the human hand. Why is the peasant interior a poem, the villa stamped with the ½d. stamp, so soulless and drab? And yet any one who has examined Suffragist writings knows that they are mainly an idolization of the institutional, the machine-made, a crusade to reduce all life to the characterless, inartistic, turned out by the dozen result that distinguishes the shop-bought from the home-made interior. We get what we pay for in life, pretty generally. The difference between a room whose furnishing is paid for in the coin of personality, of owner's effort, and the room without breeding, the room paid for only in the baser coin paid over the counter, is patent to all. The inferiority of the latter is one that Suffragists will end in imprinting on every department of life by their contempt for pots and pans, their crushing out in women of the native instinct for what is vital, essential, in act and fact and thing.

There are many wealthy women who have espoused Suffragism, and who, to promote it, do daily a very dangerous thing in preaching to working women that housework is degrading. And dangerous as is that direct denunciation of housework universal among Suffragists, there is another way of inculcating contempt for it, which is even more dangerous because more insidious and less direct. An example of the insidious way in which the mischief is spread is shown in a letter to the Times of December 21 last, advocating the suffrage for women. It was written by a lady from the standpoint of the leisured and cultured classes, as she expressly said. "We more fortunate women," she wrote, plead for the franchise, not for our own sake, but for the sake of the working women (whose "round of toil" she stigmatized as "drudgery"), because "it shall bring them at once something at least of the respect and consideration which form the basis upon which we more fortunate women build our lives," and, further, remove from them something at least of a supposed inferiority not only to the males of their own class, postulated for the working women by the writer as the result of their houseworking life, but also to "the more fortunate women" who, in contradistinction to the working women, were described by her as "enjoying the respect and confidence of the men of their world, of whom they feel themselves the equal mates."

Thus are the women of the working class being taught that they forfeit the "respect and consideration" of equals and superiors because they do the housework this writer calls "drudgery." These words allow no other interpretation, since it is not wage-work that can create in the working woman an inferiority to her wage-earning mate, and it is not votelessness that causes her lack of the "respect and consideration" which her "more fortunate" sister even now on her own showing enjoys, though voteless. She is simply deprived of these, and unable to be the equal mate of the men of her world, as wealthier women are of theirs, because she does the housework and they do not!

Is not this mischievous preaching, as well as the pathetic fallacy run mad? Any one who really and intimately knows working women, from inside, not from outside, stands aghast

at this doctrine that they fail to enjoy in their own circle the respect and consideration "the more fortunate women" enjoy in theirs. (They deserve to receive it too from their "more fortunate" sisters, not this wounding contempt.) While as to equal mates, there are two sides to that question. In the home that the working man provides her with, the rule of the working woman is little short of autocratic. The harder she works to keep it clean and well tended, the more consideration she enjoys, not only in that house, but among her neighbors. Yet the more weak-minded of even a sturdy class have begun to be influenced by this assiduous preaching against housework as derogatory, to shun the performance of what they have been so pertinaciously taught degrades them in the general esteem. Words cannot convey a sense of the harm that is being done by this industrious Suffragist preaching of snobbishness. Naturally it is felt no women would ever endure the degradation incurred in tending a household, if only they had the money and means to get some one else to undertake on their behalf what forfeits for a woman all respect and consideration, what prevents her from being the equal of her mate.

It is one of the paradoxes of the period, that now when Labor with a capital L is becoming a respected power in the State, labor with a small one should have forfeited the respect formerly given to "honest labor," when "to learn and labor truly" was taught as a duty by the Catechism, and was the passport to that esteem which the Suffragists are so largely responsible for destroying.

Who can count the harm this shallow feminism has done in warping the grain of the national character, in sterilizing all the honest impulses and beliefs that make of a woman's life such a beautiful work of art, not this dull machine-made thing the vulgarizing fear of pots and pans is going to make it for those mothers of the race who have been contaminated by it, those mothers who will bequeath this paralyzing snobbishness to the generations to come?

If the moral effect of Suffragism has been so evil, there is also a more material aspect in which it has been equally disastrous. If Suffragism has done this for women's ideals of home-life, what has it done for the wage of the women whom circumstances force out into the world into a money-making career? What has it done for that of the men whose work women have been urged to forsake their own in order to share? What has the popular Suffragist clamor for the admission of women to all the professions, their constant preaching that all women should do work of the sort that gives economic independence (*i. e.* any work but the housekeeping work so despised of Suffragists) on the one hand, their continual urging of every girl to *do* something, to take up some sort of *outside* work, not to be content with the home-life Suffragists hold up as so "narrowing," on the other hand? The answer is the same, whether pay has been lowered through their competition to what is accepted by the upper class girls who say complacently: "Of course I couldn't have managed on it if the dad had not been a brick and doubled my allowance, but then he knew I was getting tired of being at home and wanted a change" . . . or whether the "pin-money clerk" is blamed for the lowering of wage that cheap female labor has been responsible for in the clerical market: "Lowered our wage at the same time it has diminished the measure of comfort and service even our former wage would have bought," is the bitter reply. Bitter as it is, its bitter is sweet compared to the bitterness of a woman who has to work for a livelihood, who has not the means to live without a worker's wage to live upon, and who sees the job she would prize as dearly as her life (it would mean life to her), go to the better fed, better housed, sleeker, more prosperous sister who takes for lightly prized pocket-money the wage that would have meant a living to the woman who had to go without one, and who ends . . . where? . . .

We use the word educated in a curiously restricted sense. We say that a person who is trained to fill a clerical, a literary, or a professional post, is educated, and speak as if training for any other calling were not education. It is an absurdly one-sided and erroneous definition, but since convention has established this meaning for the word, it has for convenience to be so accepted. It occurs in this sense in a matter-of-fact statement of women's position in the labor market supplied on December 6 last at a Colonial Intelligence League meeting, where Suffragism was not in question at all, but simply practical methods for assisting the emigration of women. Incidentally, it furnished the most dispassionate, businesslike summing up of what Suffragism as a business proposition means for women, that could well be imagined. What is a commonplace of modern conditions was recorded as a basis for consideration in making plans for providing assistance. The meeting was reminded that the woman wanted in the Colonies is not the educated but the domestic type: that "unfortunately the surplus of women in the old country was not of the domestic but of the educated type," which shows, of course, what is the type of woman wanted here too, of what type there is a shortage, as well as of what type there is a surplus.

The question then that lies before us now is: Are we going to perpetuate, to accentuate, to her own great misery, the production of the unwanted type of woman, to drive women into further competition with men, and still further away from the domestic type, as the result in forcing them to participate (against their own will even) in yet another masculine profession, the profession of politics, just that politicians may benefit by their votes?—or are we now going to call a halt?

Are we going to fight for getting the women that are wanted in the old country, or (saddest of all sad words to apply to a woman), the women that are superfluous? Which way do we believe the path of true progress lies for the race (to take the most unselfish point of view)—for the sex (to take the most selfish)? Which is it to be? The Suffragist banner with all its device in favor of the unwanted woman, or the Anti-Suffragist with its aspiration to make women wanted once more, educated in the highest sense of the word, thoroughly equipped for the profession that is theirs by ancient prescriptive right; in the fullest, deepest, widest sense of the words, domestic, housekeeping women?

Feminine of Feminist? Anti or Suffragist, which is it to be?
—The Author of "An English-Woman's Home."

—The National Review.

Reasons Why Men Oppose Woman Suffrage

1. Suffrage as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court is not a natural, inherent, nor inalienable right. Were it such, then it should be universal, without limitation or regulation. Such a theory would bar limitations as to age and ability to read and write, and regulations as to enrollment, all of which are admittedly necessary.

2. The fundamental question is whether the further extension of suffrage to women will promote the general welfare.

3. Taxation *without* representation may be tyrannical, but the taxation of the property of women in Massachusetts is not tyrannical. In our laws relating to taxation, the only distinctions based on sex are in favor of women. Widows and unmarried women above the age of twenty-one have the benefit of an exemption from taxation of property to the amount of $500 more than men, and women are not, like men, subject to a poll tax.

Taxation *with* representation may also be tyrannical. If a majority of the voters have but little taxable property,

they may be tyrannical to those who have more. Woman suffrage would increase the percentage of those voters having little or no taxable property.

The socialist party advocates woman suffrage. Its chief aim is to force an equal division of property. The methods of taxation which would bring about such a result would be tyrannical in the extreme.

4. Will woman suffrage tend to make homes more happy, comfortable, attractive, and peaceful, or in any way more perfect? Will it tend to strengthen the bond between wife and husband? Will it help mothers to take better care of their children? Will it make children happier or better?

Is it not calculated to bring about just the opposite results?

Anything which permanently injures the home cannot be for the common good.

5. It is urged that if women voted they could compel employers to give them better wages. Obviously, however, legislation requiring the payment to women of higher wages than those determined by the unwritten but universal law of supply and demand must result in their failure to get employment, unless, indeed, the law goes farther and bars men from the competition.

There is reason to believe that woman, armed with the ballot, will not be able to protect herself as well as she is now protected by the loyalty of man. An examination of the laws of states in which women vote will show that the ballot has not secured for them advantages superior to those enjoyed in non-woman-suffrage states. If woman should be put by law on exactly the same footing as man, she surely would not be as well off as she is now.

6. The influence of woman, voting, will not be the same as that which she now exercises. It will become more like that of man, and those who appreciate most highly her present influence fear that much will be lost and nothing gained.

7. Will woman suffrage bring about a better administration of the business affairs of a city, or town, or of the state?

There are no legal barriers which prevent a woman from entering into any business which she may select. There are more women than men in this state, and yet, as is well known, for every woman conducting business on her own account there are hundreds of men so engaged.

The men of our state have a wider and more intimate knowledge of business affairs than have the women. That women appreciate this is shown by the fact that when they have to entrust the care of their property to others they generally select men rather than women for the purpose.

By reason of their comparative lack of experience, necessarily resulting from their natural sphere and environment as distinguished from that of men, the judgment of women as a whole on business affairs cannot be as good and safe as that of men.

The administration of public business by men is far from perfect. It will not be improved by increasing the percentage which the uninformed vote bears to the whole. The corrupt politician gets his principal support from the multitude of the well-meaning but misinformed.

8. Civilization depends upon, and advances through, division of labor.

The power of a vote involves the duty to cast that vote intelligently and effectively. To do this, a citizen must keep himself informed throughout the year as to public men and their doings, and he must do his share toward the adoption of right principles and the selection and election of the best men. This much, at least, every voter should do. It takes both time and strength and is sometimes very burdensome. This burden, if thrown upon woman, will be greater than for man, because woman will have less opportunity for, and more difficulty in, keeping herself informed. If woman undertakes it, her present ability to do other work for which she is specially fitted will be impaired. That there should be a division of labor between man and woman is plainly indicated by their functional differences.

9. The heavy and dangerous work of the world is not for women. They should not be called upon nor permitted to perform police or military duty. Power and responsibility should go together. The fact that it is man who must enforce the laws, support state policies, and defend our homes is a reason why he alone should have the power to make the laws and determine the policies. Responsibility for results sobers judgment and conduces to wise action.

Submitted by the

MASSACHUSETTS MEN'S ASSOCIATION AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Holker Abbott	Augustin H. Parker
Charles F. Adams, 2d	Henry Parkman
David Crocker	James M. Prendergast
George G. Crocker	Thomas Russell
Charles P. Curtis	Richard M. Saltonstall
Frederick P. Fish	William T. Sedgwick
Aaron H. Latham	William W. Vaughan

Executive Committee.

The Paint Has Worn Off

Of late suffragists have shown a marked disinclination to point with pride to Colorado, as an example of what woman suffrage accomplishes. They prefer to discuss, instead, the states where the ballot is still a new toy. Woman Suffrage is a tragic failure in Colorado. There the paint has worn off the toy, and women have tossed it away.

In the chapter on Colorado, contributed by Mrs. Meredith and her daughter, Ellis Meredith, in "The History of Woman Suffrage," by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper (Copyright 1902, Volume four, pages 509-534), enthusiasm over the new plaything is exuberant. "Women have cast as high as fifty-two per cent. of the vote." "In many sections the liquor traffic has been abolished, always by the votes of women." "The most noteworthy result of woman suffrage is the improved character of the candidates, as one of the most important points to be considered is whether they can get the votes of women; the addition of a large number of independent and conscientious voters to the electorate; the wider outlook given to woman herself through the exercise of civil rights; and the higher degree of comradeship made possible by the removal of political inequality between man and woman." Dear, familiar suffrage arguments, proclaimed everywhere still!

And what are the facts to-day? The Denver News of September eleventh announced the indictment of the present mayor, the ex-mayor, the present chief-of-police and his predecessor, the present and former fire and police boards "for permitting the 'Redlight' district to exist in alleged violation of the law." The school board is under indictment "for permitting school to be held in buildings that do not meet the legal requirements as to fire-escapes and fire-equipment." These are the conditions that exist in a state where women have voted for nineteen years. When the franchise was new, women cast fifty-two per cent. of the total vote. In the September primaries of this year less than forty per cent. of all persons in Denver who are entitled to the ballot voted. The sixty per cent. who did not vote are women and men, both influenced for nearly a score of years by that "higher degree of companionship" given to women by "the exercise of civil rights." The press complains of "general apathy." A Denver telegram to the Butte Miner says that the new primary law had its first trial, and that many women fearing lest they should mark their ballots incorrectly, and so make their votes invalid, did not vote at all.

But the present and former Denver officials were elected

after the old plan. When the franchise was new "the improved character of candidates" was notable.

The present chief-of-police protests, with considerable justice on his side, that he has been expected in three months of office to reform "unspeakable conditions which have been in existence for twenty years." Mrs. Suffren believes that votes for women "will abolish the white slave traffic," but nineteen years of woman suffrage in Denver have not even lessened it. The chief-of-police says that as long ago as August, 1907, the judge to whom the grand jury, after a month's deliberation has lately returned indictments, was visited by a committee of righteously indignant citizens. It was "at a time when the horrible crib system fastened by the now indicted ex-mayor had aroused public protest." The judge, he says, admitted knowledge of horrible conditions, but did not call the grand jury. The recent action of the grand jury, he declares, was taken to distract public attention from a probe into the ex-mayor's career. He ridicules the idea that any one in Denver is ignorant of Market Street evils and the existence of vice in its most degraded forms. The enfranchised woman with her "wider outlook" must have seen it.

"I have seen no fretting or straining of women in Colorado on account of politics," says a writer in a suffrage weekly of September 14th—three days after these indictments were announced by the press. "They let the men hold all the important offices and attend to all the machinery of politics. They seem to think and vote calmly without excitement over offices and candidates. Even in the case of Judge Lindsey they made no great shout or cry about it. They simply considered him the best man for the place and voted him into office, regardless of the wishes of the bosses."

Shame to the women of Denver that they make no great shout or cry about the men they "let" hold all the important offices! Is Judge Lindsey the only man whose office concerns them and their sons and daughters? Have they delegated all their duties of citizenship to him? Does Judge Lindsey protect their children in the schools? Does he wipe out the Market Street dens? The women of Denver "voted him into office regardless of the wishes of the bosses." He has told us over and over again how bitter was the opposition of the bosses. Denver women overthrew them. Denver women keep him in office. What mayor do they keep in office? Did they put in office the ex-mayor now under indictment, whom Mrs. Alma Lafferty, member of the Colorado Legislature, nominated for the United States Senate, and declared that she went "up and down the line" for him in his political battles? The present "reform" administration is but three months old. Why was reform necessary when for years women have been able to vote the men they considered best for the place into office and despite the opposition of the bosses? With the existence of "unspeakable" conditions known since 1907, why do Denver women and Denver men on whom they have exercised "direct influence" for nineteen years let Denver go on record as polling only forty per cent. of its vote?

We have heard Denver women's excuse for their failure to pass an eight-hour work day law for women. They could not do it because of a Senate deadlock over the election of a United States Senator; conditions, they say, do not demand that the work-day of women in Colorado factories be limited in any way by law. We accept their poor excuse that they cannot control the Legislature, and that the nearly 3,000 women in factory work are too few to be worth considering, but their city is their own. What defense have they to offer?

How do they use the political power chivalrous men gave them—men who believed in their promises of better things than Market Street and fire-trap-school-houses? Is the franchise a sacred responsibility to them? No, the ballot is a plaything. They have tired of it and flung it away as women in states where woman suffrage has been more recently granted will tire of it, too, when the newness of the paint has worn off.

In what is the Denver woman interested? In The Denver Post, of September 8th, a front page is devoted to the portrait of a beautiful young girl, and to a discussion of Miss Molly Elliott Seawell's "The Ladies' Battle" and the Ohio defeat of woman suffrage. Frances Wayne complains that Miss Seawell does not consider "mental cruelty" adequate grounds for divorce. She objects to Miss Seawell's remark that divorce is common among suffrage leaders. Miss Seawell "does not take time or lacks the inclination to analyze the reasons why Mrs. Belmont sought her freedom from a husband who represented a social tyranny which was slowly and surely blighting her womanhood, warping her individuality, withering her soul, stunting her intelligence and making her useless to herself and to humanity, for which she had a brooding tenderness." She declares that, "Ohio has refused to grant the right to suffrage to women. The dear and courteous male voters from that factory of presidents are, quite evidently, of the opinion that when a woman attains her political rights she loses her feminine charm; discards her blessed, Orientalized sex allurements and becomes at once something between a rambling goat and a prowling cat, a creature who demands her right and refuses to purr and beg." She says, "The most chivalric man I know is also the most utter cad. Women of culture and refinement, of wide social experience and alert intellect think him delightful." "The average woman is hopelessly average," she announces, "and continues to endorse Cicily Hamilton's declaration that morality has been forced on women."

The front page of the Denver News of the same date is given up to things like this: "Men always need the help of women if they bring such enterprises to a successful issue. They will call upon the women for aid sooner or later, so why can they not be courteous enough to give them a definite part?" "Men always need the help of women in any undertaking. I think women need men to advise and aid them, too. I think neither sex accomplishes much alone. There are some very bright women in Denver, women who are as capable as the men of the city."

Are these Denver women pleading to be allowed to help make the city morally clean, to be allowed to get voters out to vote? No, they are saying these things because Denver men have not asked them to take part in the coming Mountain and Plain festival.

They say these things, too:—"A state ball could be made as much of a feature as the Prieats of Pallas in Kansas City, Mardi Gras in New Orleans. In these cities used as they are to giving such affairs, they rely a great deal upon the judgment of the women and much of the success of those famous affairs is due to the feminine mind. The horse show in Chicago, is another big event which, the men do not attempt to manage entirely by themselves, but in which they defer to the judgment and the imagination of prominent Chicago women."

These are the things that interest Denver women. What have they done for the real cause of womanhood? What higher civic conscience has been quickened in them? What have they accomplished? No law limits the work-day of women. "Mental cruelty" is legal ground for a divorce, and men nineteen years associated with women as political equals are under indictment for permitting white slavery to flourish unchecked.

Woman Suffrage is no longer on trial. It has been condemned. The ballot was only a toy to play with, to discard as soon as the paint wore off. It lies soiled and dishonored in the dust at the feet of the women of Denver.

OHIO

Many prophets with false preachings, bade us listen to their teachings,
While they babbled of progression which would come with equal rights;
But we turned away unheeding, notwithstanding all their pleading,
For we knew their vaunted reasons were but restless fancy flights.
When the reckless, never caring what the way their feet were faring,
Overturned all law and logic for a selfish, sexless creed,
Roused we then to swift pursuing those who wrought to our undoing,
Then 'twas ours to plan the rescue, then 'twas ours to urge and plead.

Plead for Womanhood's fair splendor, which they asked us to surrender
For the iron crown of power and the cross of work and pain;
Brave men heard us interceding, paused to listen to our pleading
And the promptness of their action proved we did not sue in vain.

From the hamlet came our pity, from the throbbing vibrant city
Came the answer from each section where our cry for aid had flown;
From the calloused hand of labor, from the farmer and his neighbor
Came the power that re-established and restored us to our own.

Hear our song of glad thanksgiving, there is joy again in living
Since the wisdom of our fathers lives afresh in hearts of men;
Since we know that darkest treason cannot dim the torch of reason
We uplift our wearied vision to the face of God again.

F. G. S.

The Defeat of Woman Suffrage in Ohio

The Ohio State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized in February, 1912, with Mrs. Hermon H. Hubbard, of Columbus, as President. She had been the president also of the temporary organization that was formed to oppose the passing of the suffrage amendment by the Constitutional Convention. Mrs. F. Ewing Martin was Secretary, Miss Alice B. Haney, Treasurer, and Mrs. Virginia Cole and Mrs. O. T. Corson were on the Executive Board, with Mrs. W. W. Clippinger, Mrs. Joseph Crane, Mrs. H. M. Lucas, Mrs. Frank Ray, Mrs. H. E. Talbott, Mrs. John M. Gundry as Vice-Presidents.

In addition there were Auxiliaries in Columbus, with Mrs. Lyman Arms, President; Dayton, Mrs. H. E. Talbott, President, and where many meetings were held; Granville, Mrs. Warner J. Pond, President, and Marietta, Dr. Anna C. Preston, President. In Cleveland, Mrs. Frank Billings was at the head with a strong committee of the most influential and philanthropic women of the city. Mrs. F. G. Schwarz was the President of the Cincinnati Association.

The largest amount of work was done by the State Association in Columbus, a great deal of literature being issued and circulated throughout the State. Miss Bronson was brought into the State and spoke 33 times, at first to audiences of about 50, which constantly increased, the largest, 3,500, being at a tent meeting. Miss Foley followed her about from place to place, taking advantage of the opportunity to ask questions, and in many instances attempting to turn the meeting into a suffrage harangue.

These hecklings continued to such a degree that Miss Bronson was obliged to have the attendance of policemen at the later meetings so that the speakers could have an opportunity to be heard without interruptions. She was also obliged to make a short personal statement in regard to attempts of the Suffragists to discredit her utterances and her reputation as well. For some time she did not try to defend herself from these vituperations, but the time came when the public ought to be informed of the methods taken by the Suffragists to discredit anyone who differed from them politically. This whole statement was published throughout the State and awakened considerable interest.

Mrs. William Forse Scott and Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, of New York, also spoke several times as did the President of the Ohio State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and other Ohio women.

In Cleveland, the press work was in charge of Miss Lucy Price, the leading Cleveland papers giving as much space to the opposition as requested.

In Cincinnati the organization was perfected only a few weeks before the election, but the work done was efficient and effective, as was shown by the enormous majority against suffrage in Hamilton County—29,000.

Leaflets were circulated by this Association in Hamilton County, booths were taken at the County Fair, at the Coney Harvest Home and Westwood, where leaflets were distributed and many thousands of men voters reached. During the last few days literature was also distributed from automobiles, at car barns and police and fire stations, permission having been obtained from the superintendents and chief-of-police.

The Suffragists sent their speakers from all over the country into Ohio, especially during the last weeks. They made desperate attempts to connect those who worked in opposition to suffrage with the liquor interests, making all kinds of accusations in print and from the public platform. It is stated in the Woman's Journal that a politician said that the Suffragists had put up the best campaign he had ever seen. So far, it stands out as one with more personal attacks, bitterness and vituperation than even the one in California. Street meetings and speeches from soapboxes were in constant evidence in many of the large cities.

Some of the methods used were of the most extreme, sensational type and the general comment among the men was that if women were to carry on campaigns if they got the vote, in such a manner as they conducted them while trying to get it they should be kept out of politics, as being injurious to themselves.

The total vote on the woman suffrage amendment in Ohio was 586,295, the largest cast for any of the 42 amendments. Official figures show that 248,920 men voted for the amendment and 336,375 against it, a majority against the woman suffrage amendment of 87,455.

Suffrage Speaker Says She Was Misquoted

The Pennsylvania Limited Suffrage League

Haverford, Pa., Aug. 20, 1912.

Editor "The Woman's Protest":

Dear Madam—In the July number of "The Woman's Protest" you say: "One of the suffragettes of the recent convention in Louisville delivered herself of the following admonition: 'Whatever you do, don't be tiresome. Better be vulgar. This is a vulgar age. Be loud. Be yellow. Be anything to be picturesque. Better go to extremes than to bore people.'"

As I was the speaker at the Louisville Convention, kindly give me space in your columns to correct your mistaken report of my address. I said: "This is a vulgar age, and it is better to seem vulgar than to seem tiresome." I did not advise my audience to be vulgar. I did not tell them to be loud, nor "yellow"—whatever that may be—I did not say "be anything to be picturesque." I advised them to use picturesque methods and not to be tiresome, as many excellent causes are languishing under a weight of dullness. Do the anti-suffragists consider it a virtue to be tiresome? If you wish to publish quotations from suffrage speakers, or indeed, public speakers of any kind, it is better to get a report from some one who has attended the meeting, or else to ask the speaker to verify the newspaper account of her speech. Suffragists have had to endure much misrepresentation from exaggerated accounts of their sayings and doings, but I feel sure that in your case this exaggeration was not intentional.

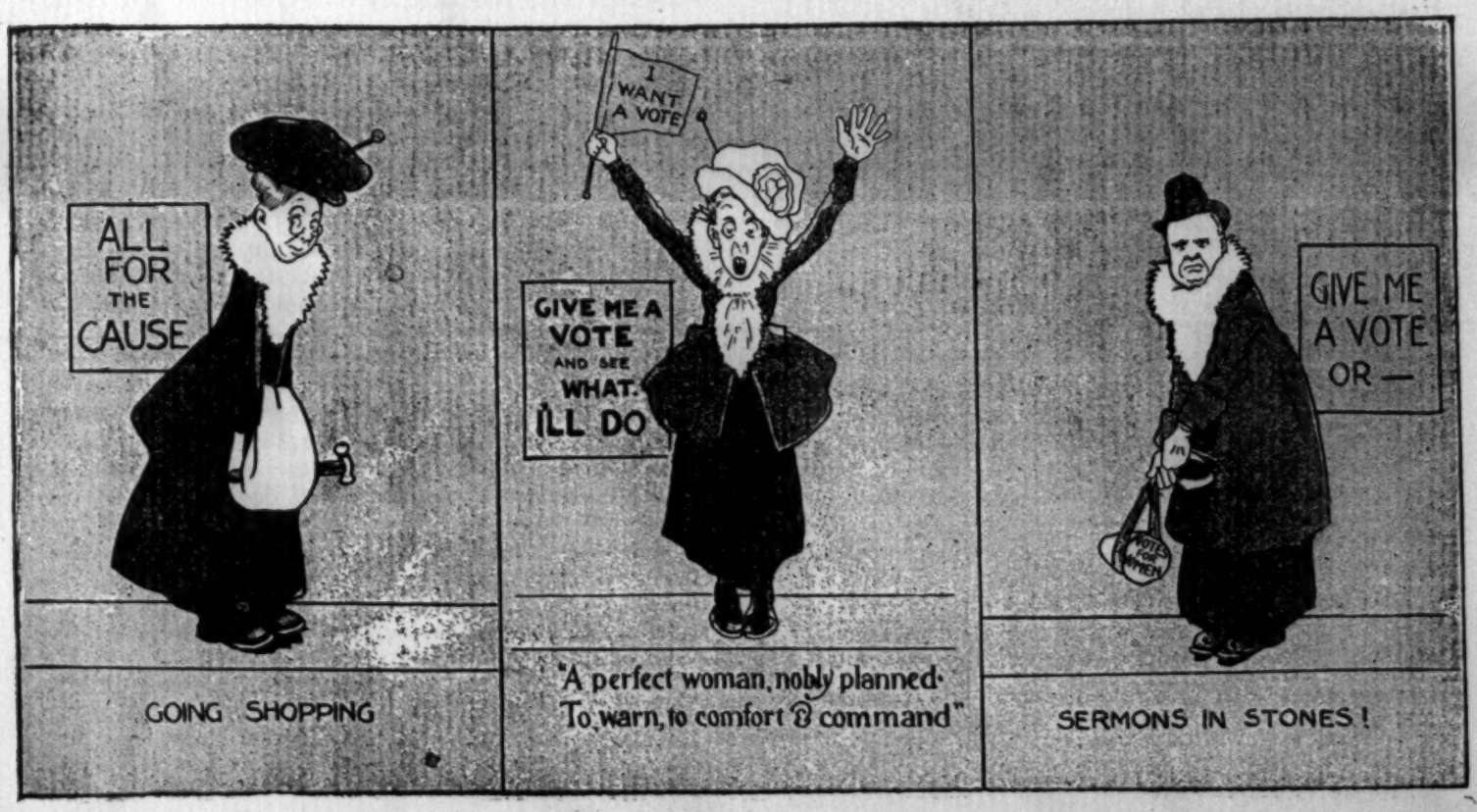
Very truy yours,

MARY WINSOR,
President.

We gladly give space to Mrs. Winsor's correction. The exaggeration was unintentional, and was taken from newspaper reports which had never, to our knowledge, been contradicted, though considerable time elapsed between the Louisville convention and our erroneous account of the speech. Mrs. Winsor's advice to suffragists was followed in the Ohio campaign. They succeeded admirably in seeming vulgar. We cheerfully give Mrs. Winsor some information as to what "yellow" means. It is commonly used as a warning signal above pest houses. It is a suffrage color. Used colloquially, it describes certain newspapers and certain traits of human character. It is our impression that many persons in Louisville and other Southern cities are not familiar with arguments in favor of woman suffrage, and we quote, to atone for our error, an undoubtedly authentic plea made by a Southern woman:

"In my section men are chivalric, and say: 'Don't you know that you shall have everything you ask as ladies? Don't you know that we are your natural protectors?' But what is a woman afraid of on a lonely road after dark? The bears and wolves are gone. There is nothing to be afraid of now but our natural protectors." (History of Woman Suffrage, by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, volume 4, page 341.)

RECENT ENGLISH POSTAL CARDS


ALL FOR THE CAUSE
GOING SHOPPING
I WANT A VOTE
GIVE ME A VOTE AND SEE WHAT I'LL DO
"A perfect woman, nobly planned
To warn, to comfort & command"
GIVE ME A VOTE OR —
VOTES FOR WOMEN
SERMONS IN STONES!

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW SAYS LET THEM STARVE

If Suffragettes Are Freed Because They Will Not Eat, Legal Methods of Punishment Will Be Abolished.

(*Special Cable to The New York Times.*)

London, Tuesday, Sept. 17.—George Bernard Shaw has returned to London and the limelight with a letter on the forcible feeding of suffragettes which, for lack of more exciting matter, occupies leading places in this morning's papers.

After promising that suffragettes who commit crimes, like attempted arson, require to be restrained, Mr. Shaw says, the method of restraining them has placed the Government in a dilemma. The only method of restraint at present available is imprisonment, and prisoners by the expedient of voluntary starvation could always force upon the community the alternative of either removing the restraint or seeing them die. He adds:

"To keep a prisoner would mean allowing her to starve herself to death. In such an extremity it seems to me that a prisoner's right to commit suicide would have to be recognized. As long as the Government placed within the prisoner's reach a sufficiency of food, I do not see how it could be held accountable for the prisoner's death any more than if she committed suicide in any other manner.

"If a woman meets me on Waterloo Bridge and says: 'Give me a five pound note or I'll jump into the Thames and drown myself as soon as you have gone a sufficient distance to prevent you from holding me,' I really do not see how I could reasonably comply with her request, because if it were established as a rule of conduct that I was bound to do so, or else be held guilty of the woman's death, all the women in London might make me stand and deliver in turn until I was a beggar.

"In the same way, if the Government is bound to release every prisoner who threatens to commit suicide by starvation, then all criminals can compel a general jail delivery and practically abolish all legal methods of dealing with crime.

"My conclusion, therefore, is that if the prisoners in Mountjoy, Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans, sentenced for the Dublin Theatre affair, are determined to commit suicide by starvation, they must be allowed to do so, and the Government could not be held responsible for their deaths if it could convince the public that they had plenty of food within reach.

"This is cold logic, and it has been evident to intelligent observers for some time that the moment the militant suffragists overstepped the line which separates what I may call pardonable ructions from offenses against public safety, which no community can be persuaded to tolerate, they would drive the Government back on this cold logic."

CARDINAL GIBBONS FEARS FOR WOMEN

Suffrage Would Increase the Divorce Evil According to Eminent Clergyman.

(*Special to The New York Times.*)

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 17.—Cardinal Gibbons told 550 men at the City Club luncheon this afternoon that if a historian ever had cause to write the "Decline and Fall of the American Republic," it would not be due to an invading army, but to the criminal sloth and negligence and the political apostasy of our own citizens.

Before his address he said in an authorized interview:

"Equal suffrage, in my opinion, would tend toward increasing divorce, which is a social blot on the United States, and is the greatest evil of the day. If woman had equal political rights with men there is a probability that on the slightest provocation she would seek divorce. Given such equality they might overstep the bounds. Women under present conditions are too prone to go to the divorce courts, and political equality might make them more so. It might have the effect of turning their heads.

"Divorce is now too easy to get. If a husband leaves home for a couple of weeks and his wife wants freedom she is likely to use his absence as a pretext. Nowadays if a woman cannot get a divorce in her own State she goes off to Nevada, where it is made easy.

"One of the worst features of the divorce evil is its bad effect upon children. When parents separate it means separation of children, of brothers and sisters. Children thus bereft of proper family influences are likely to go astray.

"Divorce is increasing in the United States. The evil prevails here more generally than in any other country. We must get back to the Gospel. The laws should be made more strict, so that it would not be so easy to disrupt the marriage ties on flimsy pretexts."

MR. BORDEN RETORTS TO SUFFRAGE THREAT

Canadian Premier Frankly Assures a Deputation of Suffragettes That They Do Not Frighten Him.

Mr. Borden, the Canadian Premier, received a deputation of suffragettes at the Savoy Hotel in London, August 29, and took a very decided stand on the woman suffrage question. Miss Rachael Barrett, heading the deputation, made a speech in which she alluded, somewhat pointedly, to "steps which might have to be taken" by Canadian suffragettes if the franchise were not extended to women on the same terms as men.

"As to your suggestion that you might advise the women of Canada to employ militant methods," Mr. Borden said, "I do not know whether I am to construe that as a threat or not."

"It is a mere statement of fact," Miss Barrett replied.

Mr. Borden's answer was prompt and emphatic.

"If I am told," he said, "that methods are to be employed which will make my political life inconvenient, or will even shorten it, that I am to act on this and not on reasoned judgment and in the interests of humanity, then I tell you frankly that these considerations will not move me in the least.

"I am perfectly ready to listen to arguments and suggestions. As far as your action at the present time is concerned, I should like, with all respect, to make one observation: I think the women of Canada are sufficiently capable and intelligent to judge of these matters for themselves. I should be most happy to receive any delegation of the women of Canada made bona fide for the purpose of setting before me their views."

He added that he had no intention of announcing on his return to Canada that he would introduce legislation in regard to woman suffrage, and remarked that the deputation's speeches betrayed an ignorance of Canadian conditions.

Miss Barrett thanked the Canadian Premier for receiving the deputation, but said she did not think his replies were "entirely satisfactory."

Daily Mail, August 31.

A Reuter telegram from Ottawa says that the press generally approves Mr. Borden's reply to the militant suffragettes in London. The Citizen says that so strong and well defined a stand was worthy of both Canada and its Premier.

A TRIAL MARRIAGE

A suffragist publicly advocated trial marriages not so long ago, both in her lectures and in a published book. Perhaps the Chandler—Washburn "adhaps the Chandler-Washburn "advanced" marriage is an echo of the seeds thus planted. A professor of Stanford University has indorsed the marriage and says, "the compact as to parenthood is a move for women's freedom." The

Hartford Times makes the following comment on the trial marriage:

Some space was devoted in the Sunday newspapers to an alleged contract, said to have been made by a young man and woman who are contemplating marriage in Los Angeles, Cal. It is stated:

The marriage contract specifically sets forth that the marriage shall not be a bond giving either any control over or possession of the other, that it shall not be a bar to other marriage should this prove unfruitful, that the tie shall terminate simultaneously with the death of love on either side and that neither shall have the right to restrain the other should he or she see fit to incur other parental responsibility.

It provides that since at present the state provides no income for mothers and children that it shall be the duty of the man to share equally with his wife all earnings and property at such times as she may be incapacitated for work, that the expenses of the household and the children shall be equally divided.

In case of separation they agree that the financial responsibility for their children shall be divided, no matter through whose fault the divorce might occur.

The law does not provide for trial marriages. It does provide for the dissolution of marriages for certain specific causes. The agreement or contract above mentioned is merely an agreement that the parties to the marriage will not attempt reprisals if either one disobeys the law and is false to the marriage vows. An agreement between two persons that they will not seek to punish each other in the event that either one violates the laws that seek to protect the marriage relation is a matter that concerns themselves alone, and advertising it benefits neither them nor the community of which they are a part. Indeed, it would seem that properly educated persons would seek to keep the existence of such an arrangement secret.

The publication comes from a city which is the hot bed of many isms and the headquarters of much loose thinking. It may serve as a text for some useful sermons, both lay and clerical, on marriage and divorce. The publication of it will hardly add to the happiness of those who entered into it, or the success of their marriage.

HOW SUFFRAGE ORATOR MISLEADS AUDIENCE

By Stating Only Half a Truth Miss Hall Does Her State an Injustice.

Speaking at Youngstown, Ohio, on August 4th, in the desperate and fruitless Ohio campaign for woman suffrage, Miss Louise Hall of Lowell, Mass., is reported as saying, "There is to be encountered one serious stock argument to the effect that women do not want to vote: that there should be taken a referendum to determine the attitude of the sex upon the question. . . . . Such a thing was done in Massachusetts about fifteen years ago and women voted in favor of suffrage 20—1, only to have the courts frown upon the result."

Miss Hall was employing a favorite suffrage method in making this statement, which is to state only half the truth. This is frequently more misleading than a direct mis-statement. The facts in the case are these: In 1895, a referendum was sent to the women of Massachusetts to see whether it was true as the Suffragists said that a majority of those who could vote wanted the suffrage. The number qualified to register and vote in the State was at least 575,000. Of these more than 550,000 declined to vote and less than four in one hundred voted "Yes," that is those voting "Yes" were 22,204. Those voting "No" 861, which I suppose is the fact on which Miss Hall based her figures. Those voting, voted 20—1, in favor as she stated, but 96 per cent of the women at that time either preferred the present status of the suffrage or were wholly indifferent to the matter. In 48 towns not one woman voted "Yes" and in 137 other towns the women voting "Yes" numbered fifteen or less. As the vast majority of the women opposed to suffrage expressed their opinion by refusing to vote, and as the voters were practically only the suffragists, Miss Hall, in order to be quite fair, should have stated that out of half a million women only 22,000 voted at all.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst said that to offer a referendum to a Suffragette was like offering her a cup of cold poison. The Suffragists know, and I have heard Mrs. Park publicly admit, that they are a small minority, and they always oppose a referendum to the women whenever it is suggested. As all bills in favor of Woman Suffrage brought before the Legislature have been voted down in the last seventeen years, it would not seem as though Woman Suffrage had gained the strength that the Suffragists claim for it. They may have increased in organization and number, but the active opposition to suffrage has made much larger gain proportionately, and the sentiment against it in the State of Massachusetts is much stronger than it was seventeen years ago.

Miss Hall further stated at Youngstown that "a good example of the futility of woman's effort to secure legislation is shown in Massachusetts. . . ." Miss Hall was referring to an old English law concerning the equal custody of children by parents, which was changed about the same time in Massachusetts that it was changed in some other states. Public opinion was ready for it in all those states about the same time, and, that there was a demand for it in Massachusetts sooner than in the suffrage states, does not prove so much that it took Massachusetts longer to get it, as that Massachusetts was ahead of the suffrage states in asking for it. As a matter of fact Massachusetts laws for the protection of women and children are in advance of those in the suffrage states, so it seems that in this statement also Miss Hall was doing injustice to her own State.

CAROLINE M. PARKER.
Charles River Village, Mass., Sept. 11.

MY MA'S A PARASITE

Jim says a parasite's a thing
That don't do nuthin fer a livin,
But jest sticks tight and sucks the blood
Of some pore critter without givin'
The other nuthin fer its keep,
Jim's twelve, and thinks he knows a heap;
But I know well that he ain't right
Because my Ma's a parasite.

Aunt Sarah says so, and she knows,
Fer she's jest awful smart, and teaches
Economy in our new school.
An' sometimes, jest fer fun, she preaches
To help the suffragettes along.
So Jim can't sing *me* no such song,
Fer I know well that he ain't right,
Because my Ma's a parasite.

My Ma she works as much as Dad,
She's at it early in the mornin',
She sweeps and cleans and sews and mends
An' when she's through she does the darnin.
Aunt Sarah said she should be paid
Reel wages like our kitchen maid.
So I know well that Jim ain't right
Because my Ma's a parasite.

And Dad he laughed and said, "My dear,
I'll raise the 'mount that I am givin'
You fer us all, but when it comes
To payin' wages, no man livin'
Could earn enough to pay a wife
If he should struggle all his life."
So that just shows that Jim ain't right,
Because my Ma's a parasite.

But Ma she only smiled at Pa
And kept on darnin' my old stockin',
"Sarah is wise and knows a lot,
But sometimes she is really shockin',
I've wages she knows nothin' of
And money cannot pay fer love,"
So you kin see that Jim ain't right
Because my Ma's a parasite.

E. R. M.

Comparison of Laws Appertaining to Welfare of Women and Children

In the recent issues of "The Woman's Protest" the laws of Colorado, where women have the vote, were compared with those of other States, where women who desire the ballot are fighting for it. The comparison showed eloquently that the vote of women in Colorado had not resulted in better laws for the benefit of women and children than existed in non-suffrage Oregon and Wisconsin; in fact, the reverse was shown. In this issue the laws of Massachusetts are compared with those of Colorado, and the showing is precisely the same—that is, that non-suffrage States have more and better laws relating to women and children than the suffrage States.

COLORADO	MASSACHUSETTS
1. Forbidding the insuring of lives of children under ten years of age.	1. No mention.
2. Establishing a home for dependent children, two of the five members of the Board of Control to be women.	2. Dependent children cared for by the State Board of Charity, which has general supervision of all State pauper institutions, and care of dependent children under 21 years of age. There are two women on the Board. R. L. Ch. 83, sec. 86. Amended ch. 490, sec. 2. Acts of 1911.
3. Requiring three of the six members of the county visitors to be women.	3. Visitation at least once a year by State Board of Charity of all places where paupers are supported. Provision for women inspectors, R. L. Ch. 84, sec. 5. Board of nine trustees of Massachusetts Training Schools, two of whom must be women. Acts of 1911. Ch. 595.
4. Making mothers joint guardians of their children with the father.	4. Husband and wife have equal right to the custody of their child, but the husband is legal guardian of a child's property until he proves unfit, then wife will be appointed.
5. Raising the age of protestation for girls to 18 years.	5. Age of protestation 16 years.
6. Requiring one woman physician on the Board of Insane Asylums.	6. One assistant woman physician at each insane asylum R. L. Chap. 87, sec. 27.
7. Establishing parental schools.	7. Establishes parental or truant schools R. L. Chap. 46.
8. Making Humane Society state bureau for child and animal protection.	8. State Board of Charity R. L. Chap. 83-84. Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children R. L. Chap. 83, sec. 29-30.
9. Establishing Juvenile Courts.	9. Establishes Juvenile Courts. Acts 1906, Chap. 489 Act for delinquent children, Acts 1906, Chap. 413.
10. Compulsory education with certain questionable exemptions.	10. Compulsory education.
11. No mention.	11. System of Industrial Education established. Acts of 1906, Ch. 505; 1909, Ch. 457.
12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of child.	12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of child.
13. Establishing traveling libraries.	13. Board of Free Public Library Commissioners. R. L. Ch. 38, sec. 11.
14. Employing children under 14 in smelter, etc., punishable by imprisonment.	14. No child under 14 and no illiterate minor under the age of 21 (unless it has a certificate) shall be employed in a factory, workshop or mercantile establishment. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 56; Acts of 1911, Ch. 310. Children under 14 not allowed to clean machinery. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 73. Children under 18 not allowed in places injurious to health of minors. Acts of 1910, Ch. 404. The public exhibition of children under 15 not allowed. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 76. Violations of acts punishable by fine.
15. Requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of homestead, etc.	15. Wife must join in conveyance of property in which an estate of homestead exists. R. L. Ch. 131, sec. 7. No mention of wife's consent to chattel mortgage. The law requires wife to assent to assignment of wages. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 121.
16. Making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child. No proof of age required other than the affidavit of parent or guardian.	16. A fine of not less than $50 is imposed if one induces or attempts to induce a child to absent itself from school. R. L. Ch. 44, sec. 1. Parents are responsible for delinquency of child. Acts of 1906, Ch. 414.
17. Making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents.	17. Law requires kindred to support poor parents. R. L. Ch. 81, sec. 10.
18. Abolishing the system of binding out girls committed to Industrial Schools.	18. System of binding out boys and girls committed to Industrial Schools exists. R. L. Ch. 86, sec. 37.
19. No mention.	19. Children employed in street trades must be licensed. Acts of 1906, Ch. 151. Railroad companies are forbidden to allow children under 10 selling papers to enter their cars. Anyone inducing a child to sell without a license may be fined. Acts of 1910, Ch. 419.
20. No mention.	20. No State University.
21. No mention.	21. Two women on State Board of Education.
22. No mention.	22. Two women on State Board of Education.
23. No mention.	23. If wife files a certificate of business on her separate account, this property cannot be attached as the property of the husband. R. L. Ch. 153, sec. 10; Acts of 1910, Ch. 576. Wages of wife and children exempt from trustees' process. R. L. Ch. 189, sec. 31. Earnings of a married woman are presumed to be performed on her separate account. R. L. Ch. 153, sec. 4.
24. No mention.	24. Policies to a married woman to inure to her benefit free from the debts of the husband. Acts of 1907, Ch. 576, sec. 73.

25. No mention.	25. Gives right of action to wife or child for damages for sale or gift of liquor to husband, father or guardian. R. L. Ch. 100, sec. 58.
26. No mention.	26. Wife may be executrix or administratrix of estate of husband.
27. No mention.	27. Wife has right of action for death of the husband by the negligence of his employer.
28. No mention.	28. Wife has absolute control of her separate property.
29. No mention.	Inspection department of district police 33 makes two women who shall enforce the provisions of law relative to the employment of women and children in factories. R. L. Ch. 108, sec. 8.
30. No mention.	30. Establishing of free employment offices. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514.
31. No mention.	31. Industrial Schools for girls at Lancaster. Governed by seven trustees, two of whom shall be women. R. L. Ch. 86, sec. 1.
32. No mention.	32. The Lyman Industrial School for Feeble Minded Acts of 1909, Ch. 504, sec. 59. R. L. Ch. 86, sec. 1.
33. No mention.	33. Massachusetts School for the Feeble Minded. Acts of 1909, Ch. 504, sec. 59. Six trustees, one woman on Board of Trustees.
34. Women have equal suffrage.	34. Women vote for all school officers and are eligible for school committee, can be attorneys, county commissioners, etc.

ADDITIONAL GOOD LAWS OF MASSACHUSETTS

1. Women may be appointed deputy collectors of taxes. Acts of 1908, Ch. 247.
2. Women are eligible as overseers of the poor. R. L. Ch. 11, sec. 339.
3. Women can be trustees of Town Libraries. R. L. Ch. 38, sec. 7.
4. Appointment of Police Matrons in cities of over 30,000 inhabitants. R. L. Ch. 108, sec. 32.
5. Board of Prison Commissioners consisting of five persons, two of whom shall be women. R. L. Ch. 222, sec. 1.
6. Women cannot be arrested in civil action except for torts.
7. Wife's right to an estate of homestead after the death of husband. R. L. Ch. 131.
8. Fifty-four-hour week for women and children in manufacturing and mechanical establishments. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 48. Amended Acts of 1912, Ch. 477.
9. Fifty-eight-hour week for women and children in mercantile establishments. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 47. Fifty-six-hour law in sweat-shops. Acts of 1912, Ch. 452.
10. Deduction from wages of women and children employed in manufacturing and mechanical establishments forbidden when compelled to work overtime in order to make up lost time by injury to the machinery. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 119.
11. Meal hours of women and children employed in factories regulated. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 67-71.
12. Women and children forbidden to be employed between 10 o'clock at night and 6 o'clock in the morning. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 51.
13. Seats provided for women in manufacturing or mercantile establishments. Acts 1909, Ch. 114, sec. 72, amended Acts of 1912, Ch. 96.
14. Forbidding children to be employed in dangerous occupations. Acts of 1909, Ch. 514, sec. 73-75.
15. Employment of children under 18 years in barrooms forbidden. R. L. Ch. 100, sec. 60-61.
16. One hundred dollars fine for selling liquor to child under 18 years. R. L. Ch. 100, sec. 62.
17. Providing for a woman to render assistance to female prisoners discharged from prisons. Acts of 1905, Ch. 235.
18. Women may be appointed assistant clerks of courts. Acts of 1907, Ch. 234.
19. Workman's compensation act, looking towards the lessening of injuries among employees. Acts of 1911, Ch. 751.
20. A married woman is not liable for the debts of her husband except to the amount of $100. R. L. Ch. 153, sec. 7, as amended, Acts of 1910, Ch. 576.
21. Resolved to provide for the appointment of a commission to investigate the wages of women and children and to report on the advisability of establishing minimum wage boards. Resolves of 1911, Ch. 71.
22. Public Play Grounds for Towns over 5,000 inhabitants. Acts of 1912, Ch. 223.
23. An act relative to the prevention of blindness in children. Acts of 1912, Ch. 470.
24. Furnishing cigarettes to children under 18 is forbidden. R. L. Ch. 213, sec. 3. Notices of this must be posted where cigarettes are sold. Acts of 1909, Ch. 346.

NOTES AND COMMENT

If you have any sympathy to spare, send it to the suffragette's children.

• • •

Miss Mary Swain Wagner, former leader in Wisconsin, who now signs herself a "disillusioned suffragist," has written from her home in Minneapolis to complain of the course of modern suffragist leaders, charging in effect that the danger of the suffrage movement is that it is subject to bossism and feminine jealousy, and that these evils are driving out the powerful leaders, though they still believe in the theory of the suffrage cause. Miss Wagner says in part:

"The manner in which women are railroaded into office and out of office by the national association is one of the marvels of this democratic age, and even the most astute and daring politicians among men would scarcely dare to attempt anything so flagrantly unjust."

• • •

Neither Col. Roosevelt nor any other candidate for the Presidency will receive the official endorsement of the suffragist organizations. Miss Jane Addams and other women who participated in the Progressive Convention at Chicago acted in their individual capacities, and not as representatives of any woman's association. This was made clear by Miss Elinor Byrnes, acting press chairman of the National American Women Suffrage Association. She said:

"We are perfectly willing that the Colonel should endorse us, but we can't endorse him, as that would mean we would endorse his platform. We would not like to stand for all of its planks unless we had something to say, and that means we will have to get the vote first. The Socialists and Prohibitionists have always endorsed us, and now the Democrats in Pennsylvania and the Republicans in Ohio and Nebraska are for us; so you see we could not consistently give our support to any one party."—N. Y. Evening Post, August 19.

• • •

Mr. Charles S. Fairchild, a member of Cleveland's Cabinet and a prominent New York lawyer, spoke before a large meeting in Cazenovia, N. Y., and made a fine address, calm, clear and convincing. Miss Alice Chittenden, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, also spoke. A prominent suffragist was heard to remark on leaving the meeting that "what Mr. Fairchild said was bosh, and Miss Chittenden is a depraved woman."

• • •

Miss Bronson, who lectured throughout Ohio under the auspices of the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, wants to know if the Suffragists know that forty per cent. of the 7,000,000 women engaged in gainful pursuits in this country are in the kitchens of the homes. She continues:

"That is almost half of the entire number, and the woman who wants to help a working girl can begin by raising the pay and shortening the hours of her kitchen help. They do not need the ballot, neither do they need any special legislation, either in Ohio or in any other State.

"Again, the suffragists claim that women with the ballot would secure legislation to protect food supplies and secure better sanitary conditions. I have the word of Ellen Richards, head of the domestic science department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for it that seventy-five per cent. of all food contamination arises in private kitchens. Mrs. Richards is an acknowledged authority on this subject. Here again the remedy is wholly within the hands of women without the ballot and without additional legislation."

Prohibition Map of the United States

White—Under Prohibition Law.
Black—Under License Law.
Striped—No-license Territory.
White Star—Number of No-license Township.
Figures—No. of No-license municipalities in State.

Many Suffrage speakers insist that if the franchise is given to women they will be for prohibition. This map, issued by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, shows plainly what we have stated before, that the six states having full woman's suffrage—Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington and California, have not voted for prohibition. Not one of the states that has prohibition is a Suffrage state.

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

FOUNDED 1895

PAMPHLETS

Woman and the Law — *By Francis M. Scott*

Address Before Constitutional Convention, 1894 — *By Hon. Elihu Root*

First Address Before the New York Legislature, 1895 — *By Mrs. Francis M. Scott*

The Problem of Woman Suffrage — *By Adeline Knapp*

Woman's Rights in America — *By Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin*

A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question — *By Miss Emily P. Bissell*

Wages and the Ballot — *By Mary Dean Adams*

Should We Ask for the Suffrage? — *By Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*

How Women Can Best Serve the State — *By Mrs. Barclay Hazard*

The Blank Cartridge Ballot — *By Rossiter Johnson*

Taxation and Suffrage — *By Frederick Dwight*

Real Opponents to the Suffrage Movement — *By Edward W. Bok*

The Relation of the Sexes to Government — *By Prof. Edward D. Cope*

Do Working Women Need the Ballot? — *By Adeline Knapp*

Woman's Progress Versus Woman Suffrage — *By Helen Kendrick Johnson*

What Women Have Actually Done Where they Vote — *By Richard Barry*

Woman's Relation to Government — *By Mrs. William Forse Scott*

The Inexpediency of Granting Suffrage to American Women — *By Miss Alice Hill Chittenden*

The Legal Status of Women — *By Mrs. Francis M. Scott*

Feminism — *By Prof. Dr. Melchior Palagyi*

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation — *By Miss Minnie Bronson*

Woman Suffrage in Finland

New Zealand and Australia from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View

The Voice of the People

Suffragists Desert Philanthropy

Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law.

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 29 West 39th Street, New York City, Engineering Societies Building.

Complete set 50 cts. **Single copies 5 cts.**

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage, (.05) — *G. K. Chesterton*

Votes for Women (.10) — *Frederic Harrison*

The Ladies' Battle ($1.00) — *Molly Elliot Seawell*

Book of Woman's Power ($1.25)

Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) — *Grace Duffield Goodwin*

Woman and the Republic (25c.) — *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to the Woman's Protest.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, THE COMMON CAUSE, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription $2.00. Office, 154 East 23rd Street. Also, THE HOME DEFENDER, Hoquiam, Wash.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association opposed to the further extension of suffrage to women:

Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage — *Francis Parkman*

Of What Benefit to Woman?

Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage — *Jeannette L. Gilder*

Letter to Legislative Committee — *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*

Argument Before Committee — *Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells*

Municipal Suffrage for Women. Why? — *Frank Foxcroft*

Taxpaying Suffrage — *Charles R. Saunders*

The Wage-earning Woman and the State — *Minnie Bronson*

Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women and Not to Men

Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage

In Opposition to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (a List of Massachusetts Men)

Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage — *Ida M. Tarbell*

Pamphlets and Leaflets may be obtained from the Secretary of the Association

KENSINGTON BUILDING, Room 615

687 Boylston Street, - - - - BOSTON, MASS.

The Woman's Protest

.....1912

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
29 West 39th Street, New York City

Enclosed find $.....for.....years subscription for **The Woman's Protest.**

Name.....

Street.....

City.....*State*.....

Subscription Rate $1.00 a year **Make checks payable to The Woman's Protest**

A FEMALE SCREECH-OWL

"It was the Catholic Church that defeated us in Ohio," wailed a suffragist in Detroit last week with feline viciousness, when referring to the defeat of the women who were seeking the right to vote in Ohio recently. This militant stump orator is playing poor politics if she seeks redress for her grievances through attacking the Church which numbers among her adherents many loyal supporters of woman's rights. Screech-owls of the bigot species will only hamper sensible women in their fight, if allowed to express themselves as the Detroit female suffragette did.—Michigan Catholic.